

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----251611Z 110069 /44
O 251546Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2076

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 12048

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, FR
SUBJ: ARMS CONTROL CONSULTATIONS WITH FRANCE

REFS: A. STATE 086287. B. PARIS 11940.

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THERE FOLLOWS AN OUTLINE OF FRENCH
POSITIONS WHICH MAY BE REFLECTED IN CONSULTATIONS WHICH
PAGNIEZ AND MISTRAL WILL HAVE IN WASHINGTON ON
APRIL 29. WHERE APPROPRIATE, WE HAVE INCLUDED SUG-
GESTED TALKING POINTS FOR US SIDE. END SUMMARY.

2. MBFR:

AS NOTED IN REF B, FRENCH WILL HAVE NOTHING NEW
TO SAY ON MBFR. THEY WILL REITERATE LONG-STANDING
FRENCH CONCERNS THAT THIS NEGOTIATION COULD LEAD TO:

A. A SOVIET "DROIT DE REGARD" OVER WESTERN
FORCES IN THE NGA.

B. THAT DESPITE FRENCH NON-PARTICIPATION, THE
ABILITY OF THE FRENCH TO RAISE OR LOWER THE TOTALS
OF ITS FORCES IN THE FRG WILL BE COMPROMISED, EITHER
BY THE NEED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT ALLIED CEILINGS, OR
BECAUSE THE FRG WILL CLAIM A GREATER VOICE IN FRENCH

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TROOP LEVELS.

C. MISGIVINGS OVER THE NUCLEAR ELEMENT OF
OPTION III AND APPREHENSION THAT THIS WILL LEAD TO
FURTHER RESTRICTIONS ON ARMAMENTS, EITHER CONVENTIONAL
OR NUCLEAR.

D. MISGIVINGS OVER THE PRACTICALITY OF VERI-
FYING AN MBFR AGREEMENT.

3. PAGNIEZ AND MISTRAL WILL APPRECIATE A READING ON WHERE THE US SEES THE NEGOTIATIONS GOING. WE SUGGEST THAT THE US PARTICIPANTS SUMMARIZE US THINKING ON THE TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS.

4. INDIAN OCEAN:

QUAI IS APPRECIATIVE OF OFFER MADE DURING THE SECRETARY'S VISIT TO CONSULT REGARDING ANY POSSIBLE INITIATIVES CONCERNING THE DEMILITARIZATION OF THE INDIAN OCEAN. THE FRENCH MAINTAIN THE LARGEST NAVAL FORCE IN THAT OCEAN, HAVE JUST DISPATCHED A CARRIER FOR AN EXTENDED DEPLOYMENT, AND APPARENTLY INTEND TO MAINTAIN A SIGNIFICANT NAVAL PRESENCE THERE. THE FRENCH HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE RIGHT OF TRANSIT ON THE HIGH SEAS NOT BE INFRINGED BY ANY BILATERAL ARRANGEMENT WHICH THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION MAY UNDERTAKE. WE SUGGEST THAT THE US SIDE SKETCH DEVELOPING US THINKING ON INDIAN OCEAN ARMS LIMITATIONS.

5. CTB:

THE GOF HAS BEEN PLEASED THAT INITIAL ADMINISTRATION COMMENTS ON THE CTB HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT NOT ALL NWS WOULD HAVE TO ADHERE TO ANY INITIAL ARRANGEMENT WORKED OUT BY THE US AND THE USSR. THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT IS CONVINCED AS DE GUIRINGAUD POINTED OUT TO THE SECRETARY, THAT FRANCE NEEDS A NUMBER OF ADDITIONAL YEARS OF TESTING BEFORE IT WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO STOP. THE GOF WOULD NOT OBJECT TO A CTB OR A MORATORIUM.

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TORUM CONCLUDED BY THE OTHER NUCLEAR POWERS, ASSUMING THAT SUCH A BAN WOULD ENABLE FRANCE TO CLOSE PART OF THE TECHNOLOGICAL GAP WHICH NOW SEPARATES FRANCE FROM THE NUCLEAR SUPERPOWERS. PARIS 3727 GIVES A FULL EXPOSITION OF OUR VIEW OF FRENCH ATTITUDES TOWARDS A CTB. THE FRENCH VISITORS WILL BE INTERESTED IN ANY ADVANCES IN US THINKING ON A CTB SINCE THE SECRETARY'S VISIT TO PARIS.

6. CW:

THE QUAI WAS MOST APPRECIATIVE AND FOUND

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WORTHWHILE THE VISIT OF THE FLOWEREE TEAM ON MARCH 23.
MISTRAL LISTENED TO THE US PRESENTATION ON CW BILAT-
ERALS GIVEN AT THE NATO DISARMAMENT EXPERTS MEETING
APRIL 21. THE QUAI WILL APPRECIATE ANY INSIGHTS WHICH
THE US SIDE IS ABLE TO GIVE WHICH WERE NOT PROVIDED TO
THE FIFTEEN IN BRUSSELS.

7. RADIOLOGICAL WARFARE:

WE DO NOT KNOW THE EXTENT OF QUAI INTEREST OR
UNDERSTANDING OF THIS SUBJECT. WE SUSPECT THAT PAGNIEZ
AND MISTRAL ARE LOOKING FOR A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO
US THINKING.

8. SALT:

AS NOTED REF B, QUAI WANTED THIS ITEM ADDED TO
THE AGENDA. WE BELIEVE THAT FRENCH WILL EXPECT A
REITERATION OF US POSITION REGARDING THE NON-NEGOTIA-
BILITY OF THIRD COUNTRY NUCLEAR FORCES IN SALT. QUAI
WILL ALSO APPRECIATE US THINKING ON NON-TRANSFER OR
NON-CIRCUMVENTION CLAUSES, BEING WELL AWARE THAT US
HAS PLEDGED TO CONSULT ITS ALLIES PRIOR TO TABLING
ANY LANGUAGE. WE BELIEVE THE HEART OF THE CURRENT
FRENCH INTEREST IN SALT CENTERS ON CRUISE MISSILES.
AS HAVE MANY EUROPEANS, THE FRENCH HAVE BEEN INTRIGUED
BY ALLEGATIONS THAT CRUISE MISSILES WILL OFFER A CHEAP
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BUT EFFECTIVE MEANS OF DELIVERING EITHER CONVENTIONAL
OR NUCLEAR MUNITIONS TO EXTENDED RANGES. THE FRENCH
ARE CURRENTLY DISENCHANTED WITH THE PLUTON SURFACE-TO-
SURFACE MISSILE SYSTEM WITH A 70 KILOMETER RANGE.
REPORTEDLY, THEIR DISENCHANTMENT IS BASED ON ACCURACY

AND RELIABILITY PROBLEMS WITH THE CURRENT SYSTEM.
THE CURRENT YEAR'S DEFENSE BUDGET SAW A 40 PER CENT
CUT IN PLUTON FUNDS.

9. THE FRENCH ARE CURRENTLY CONSIDERING A SECOND
GENERATION REPLACEMENT FOR PLUTON. A VERY LIMITED
GROUP IN THE GOF HAS BEEN STUDYING CRUISE MISSILES.
OUR UNDERSTANDING IS THAT THE GROUP HAS CONCLUDED THAT
FRANCE COULD BUILD THE ENGINES AND DEVELOP THE
PROPELLANTS FOR A CRUISE MISSILE. THE FRENCH ALSO
REPORTEDLY BELIEVE THAT THEY COULD MINIATURIZE THE
NUCLEAR WARHEAD FOR A CRUISE MISSILE. HOWEVER, THEY
ARE REPORTEDLY CONVINCED THAT A SOPHISTICATED GUIDANCE
SYSTEM (SUCH AS THE TERCOM) COULD NOT BE DEVELOPED
WITHOUT THE AID OF SOPHISTICATED SATELLITE MAPPING.
THUS, THE TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS OF THIS STUDY GROUP
ARE THAT THE GOF WILL NEED ASSISTANCE FROM THE USG,
IF ONLY CONCERNING GUIDANCE, TO DEVELOP A CRUISE
MISSILE. THUS THE FRENCH INTEREST.

10. WE ARE TOLD THAT IN STUDYING RANGES, THE FRENCH
GROUP HAS CONCLUDED THAT IT COULD LIVE WITH A 600
KILOMETER LIMIT ON CRUISE MISSILE RANGES. HOWEVER,
WE ASSUME THAT THE FRENCH WOULD BE HAPPIER IF SALT
DID NOT CONSTRAIN EXTENDED RANGES.
HARLAN

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DISARMAMENT, ARMS CONTROL MEETINGS, NEGOTIATIONS, MEETING PROCEEDINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 25-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977PARIS12048
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770143-0937
Format: TEL
From: PARIS
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770423/aaaaatfp.tel
Line Count: 196
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: b431969f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS, STADIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS, STADIS
Reference: 77 STATE 86287
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 25-Oct-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2705015
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ARMS CONTROL CONSULTATIONS WITH FRANCE
TAGS: PARM, US, FR
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/b431969f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009